

# Routes to tour in Germany

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- 2 Schlangenbad
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## Hesse voters confound all expectations

In the Land of Hesse did not delude the Social Democrats as people, including the pollsters, expected. The Free Democrats, former co-partners with the SPD, came off they failed to get even the 5 per cent of the votes cast needed to get represented in the Land assembly. Both the CDU had slightly reduced the Greens gained and in theory, the balance of power. Results: CDU 42.8 per cent (down 0.4 per cent), 52 (53 in the last assembly); SPD 42.8 per cent (down 1.5), 49 (50); FDP 3.1 per cent (down 3.5), 0 (7); Greens 8 per cent (up 1.0), 0 (0); Communists 0.4 per cent (up 0.4), 0 (0). The turnout was 86.3 per cent compared with 87.7 per cent at the last election in 1978.

Win in Hesse have shown themselves still to be good for a surprise. They are also prepared to reward serious decisions and to punish those who regard as betrayal.

Social Democrats Helmut Schmidt in Bonn and Holger Börner in Hesse did not fairly feel they had been rewarded at the polls. The Free Democrats were angered for being turncoats in the attempt to lead the Christian Democrats to victory in the state.

But Herr Börner made out to be a bit of a victor three quarters of an hour after polling ended was, to begin with, merely a refusal by voters to let the CDU win.

Herr Dregger immediately announced that he was resigning as CDU leader in Hesse, but that by no means ended the situation in the state.

Herr Börner remains Prime Minister of the state assembly. He lacks a majority in the state assembly. He is both unable and unwilling to negotiate with the Greens.

What remains to be seen what the upshot will be. After Herr Dregger's resignation there could even be a Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats.

The final option is a fresh poll, which the state assembly itself would have to call on. Until it does, the SPD will be in power and the CDU out.

The repercussions in Bonn and on the federal scene were even more important, especially as all parties agreed the Hesse results would bear heavily on their policy in Bonn.

CDU leader Helmut Kohl in particular was hoping a CDU victory would make his bid to oust Chancellor Schmidt. He was encouraged to do so by opinion poll forecasts.

But pollsters will not have to bear the consequences of their failure to forecast accurately. That is a burden which Kohl and the CDU will have to bear.

The Hesse results can only be interpreted in one way: that the proposed

new Bonn coalition of Christian and Free Democrats does not enjoy majority support among voters.

It was the very announcement of proposed changes in Bonn that prompted voters in Hesse to change their minds, chuck the FDP out of the state assembly and refuse to give Herr Dregger's CDU the absolute majority it seemed sure of polling.

It is naturally still conceivable and entirely legal for the CDU, CSU and FDP to vote in a new Chancellor in Bonn, but it is more than doubtful whether Helmut Kohl will still run the risk.

Crossfire from Herr Strauss and the CSU, confusion in the FDP and doubts in his own party could prevent him from going ahead.

The FDP is hardest hit. Free Democratic leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher can only regard the Hesse results as a slap in the face for his policy.

There are sure to be increasingly vociferous calls for him to resign, but who is then to lead the FDP? It runs the risk of a split and of forfeiting all influence, possibly for good.

No-one has cause to be gratified by this possibility. As long as the electoral system does not ensure clear and stable majorities any weakness of the FDP will weaken democracy itself.

Helmut Schmidt can afford to feel at least as proud and satisfied as Holger Börner. It was his determined action that brought about the turning point in Hesse.

But he cannot feel pleasure unalloyed. The Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn has broken up, but the alliance of Herr Kohl, Herr Strauss and Herr Genscher does not enjoy electoral backing.

A fresh general election might be the best solution, but what if they were to lead to a stalemate, as in Hamburg and Hesse?

What, in other words, if neither of the two major parties were to gain a working majority in the Bundestag and the only other party in the Bonn parliament were the Greens?

Schmidt and Börner have succeeded in ensuring that the Greens' showing did not entirely live up to expectations, and neither of them is able or willing to submit to the Greens' demands.

How on earth could they be expected to do so after being leaned on so heavily for so long by the Free Democrats?

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Smiles for some... Hesse SPD leader Holger Börner (right) with the Land CDU leader Alfred Dregger (centre) and FDP leader Ekkehard Gries after the Hesse election. (Photo: dpa)

For Herr Börner these are immediate worries. They could be tomorrow's worries for the Social Democrats in Bonn, who at least have been spared the FDP's despair and the CDU's disappointment.

Delight at the Hesse results can but fuel the fires of SPD enthusiasm for even greater efforts in a general election that might yet be held before the year's end.

Siegfried Maruhn  
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 27 September 1982)

## Free Democrats' drubbing the least of the surprises

The election in Hesse surprised everyone. No one thought the CDU would not get an absolute majority, or that the SPD would do so well.

If the politicians themselves were astounded, they weren't as astounded as the opinion poll people, who failed dismally.

The Free Democrats were hardest hit. Their support was halved and they received fewer than 5 per cent of the votes cast, which means that they will not be represented in the new Hesse Assembly.

But their fate had been predicted by many.

The relatively poor showing of the Christian Democrats, led by Alfred Dregger, and the slight losses of the Social Democrats were, in contrast, amazing.

The SPD decline was brought to a halt in Hesse. This might also happen at the polls in Bavaria too on 10 October, and even further afield.

The break-up of the Bonn coalition has revitalised the SPD, bearing out Social Democrats who banked on left-wing solidarity at the end of the SPD-FDP nightmare in Bonn.

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The German Tribune Third World Review is included with this issue.

They were expecting a wave of solidarity even from potential electoral supporters of the Greens, or environmentalists, many of whom did indeed decide to vote SPD as usual after all.

If the Hesse results are any guide to voters' views in the country as a whole, the Christian and Free Democrats, about to join forces in Bonn, are the clear losers.

The break-up of the Social and Free Democratic coalition in both Hesse and Bonn made it impossible to argue that the results were merely local in significance.

The result was deadlock, with neither of the major parties able to command a majority and neither prepared to form a coalition with the Greens.

It was a state of affairs similar to the results of the Hamburg elections last June, but Hesse Premier Holger Börner, who like Mayor Dohdanyi in Hamburg is a Social Democrat, promptly said he would not be joining forces with the Greens.

His aim was to pursue policies a number of Christian Democrats would be unable to disown, while as caretaker head of government he would aim at fresh elections.

The Hesse results were bound to have an enormous effect on coalition talks in Bonn. Where, as the results were declared, were the Christian Democrats who had been clamouring for an immediate general election?

They for once had nothing to say, especially Herr Strauss and his CSU in Bavaria.

Herbert Kremp

(Die Welt, 27 September 1982)

## WORLD AFFAIRS

## Opinion differences not just a matter of personalities

Differences of opinion between Bonn and Washington are sure to continue despite any change of government in Bonn.

Ideologists in President Reagan's entourage, and the President himself, may hold views that have much in common with those favoured by the Christian Democrats in Germany.

But that could well lead to Washington levelling specific demands, with Bonn being expected to act in accordance with US wishes on controversial issues.

This would apply in particular to relations with the Soviet Union and to the possibility of a credit squeeze on Moscow and the Warsaw Pact countries.

The reasons for a number of natural differences of viewpoint between Washington and Bonn are a matter of more than the personalities of the men at the top.

They are more a matter of the changes that have taken place since the days when the Federal Republic of Germany was regarded as a model pupil of Uncle Sam's and America's position as leader of the West was undisputed.

The generation of US politicians who established a special relationship with Bonn are no longer at the top. Truman, Acheson, Eisenhower and Dulles are dead.

John J. McCloy is an old man who is held in high esteem and whose views are still in demand, but he no longer wields crucial political influence in Washington.

A hallmark of US domestic trends over the past decade and a half has been that the political, economic and intellectual East coast Establishment that determined the course of US foreign and security policy from the 40s to the early 70s no longer does so.

It did not take the arrival of Ronald Reagan, on the Washington scene to shift the centre of political power to the West, South-West and South of the United States.

California, Texas and the new South now count for much more than the erstwhile power corridor from Boston to Washington, D.C.

The bitter experience of Vietnam and Watergate has yet to be fully digested. So has the steady loss of what was once a nuclear monopoly since the Cuban crisis 20 years ago.

So the unresolved economic crisis has been linked with attempts, embodied by President Reagan, to make America seem credibly strong again.

President Kennedy realised 21 years ago that the world was made up not of black and white but of shades of grey, and for much the same reason ties with the Russians were established in the latter Eisenhower years.

Under President Reagan there has been a reversion to gut reactions. Basically Mr Reagan feels the world is made up of good and bad, with Communism and the Soviet Union being bad.

His views on communism, gained in younger years as a trade union leader in Hollywood, are not going to change; he truly believes in what he says.

Most people make the mistake of believing Reagan doesn't really mean what he says. They're quite wrong, say those

who are acquainted with the strong will and at times stubbornness that lie behind the President's pleasant outward appearance.

His straightforward mental approach is in no way affected by subtle European doubts voiced in connection with, say, the gas pipeline contract or credit facilities for the Eastern bloc.

Mr Reagan takes note of the views held by America's allies that run counter to his own, but they have yet to influence either decisions he has reached or his personal prejudices.

His views are, moreover, shared by close associates such as William P. Clark, his security adviser, and White House aides Ed Meese and Michael Deaver.

Secretary of State Shultz has yet to provide tangible proof that he is departing in any sector from his undivided loyalty to the President, which he regards as the basis of his position.

America's partners in Europe, especially a new Bonn government led by the Christian Democrats, could hardly make a greater mistake than to try and jawbone Mr Shultz.

He has shown understanding for their special interests but it would be wrong to ring his praises in the vain hope of bringing about a complete change of viewpoint on the President's part.

The attempt to use the Secretary of State to influence the President led to Mr Haig's downfall at the State Department.

German civil servants and politicians who claim to be particularly well-informed on US affairs often tend to succumb to an understandable but unrealistic temptation.

Their ties are with the Establishment they have known in some cases since post-war student exchange schemes, with universities and institutes in Boston and the New York group that runs the quarterly magazine *Foreign Affairs*.

This is not to forget men like Henry Kissinger who seem to show such understanding for European views.

In such circles they hear criticism of the alleged primitive outlook of the Reagan administration. They are assur-

ed that it is only a transitional state of affairs.

They can also cry their eyes out over the lack of understanding shown by the current US administration for European affairs in general and German affairs in particular.

They then return home feeling reassured, after the intellectual accolade of being received by the authorities of the past, that Washington will soon be back on course, in line with Europe, with *Ostpolitik* and with détente.

But they are overlooking the fact that America, today more than ever, begins west of the Alleghenies.

In the rolling plains of the Mid-West, in the South and on the Pacific coast more US policy is decided today than ever before, and influence exerted on the President in office.

Many German visitors of standing reject as pointless, timewasting and beneath their intellectual dignity any suggestion of travelling to the heartland of the United States.

They will hear nothing of going to California, Washington or Oregon, where they would surely realise that America looks west across the Pacific every bit as much as it looks east across the Atlantic.

They are almost exclusively preoccupied with German affairs and assume as a matter of course that Washington has nothing better to do than to concern itself with Western Europe.

## 6 German reluctance to see where US policy is made, west of the Alleghenies?

They unerringly expect the stationing of US troops in Germany in their present strength to be a lasting state of affairs. The best that can be said is that their outlook is provincial.

Viewed in more negative terms, this attitude may be said to testify to inability to grasp the tasks and politico-strategic priorities of a world power.

This they are unable to do even after more than 30 years of constant connections, travelling to and fro across the Atlantic.

A Christian Democratic Bonn Chancellor would do well to bear in mind that the United States is in the throes of a far-reaching process of change.

The main flow of immigrants today

Continued on page 4



President Reagan and Helmut Kohl in Washington in October last year.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

## How Moscow reads the events in Bonn

Pavlov has long drawn attention to the "stormy political machine" in Bonn in its coverage of Germany so the break-up of the Bonn coalition came as no surprise to foreign planners in Moscow.

A realistic view of the situation, but the probable change of government in Bonn nonetheless marks a turning point in Soviet *Westpolitik*.

The honeymoon of the early years between Moscow and the German Democrats is long gone, but a number of influential Soviet officials in Bonn fraction in the CPSU Central Committee, see ties with the CDU more than a useful feature of Soviet foreign policy.

For them the Social Democratic movement with which the Soviet Communist Party traditionally has been common, and there can be no doubt that there have been points held in common in the history of the two class parties, even though they may later have parted.

In the final days of the Soviet Free Democratic coalition, Soviet propaganda stressed that there was a tradition between the SPD leaders and the party's grass roots.

It sought to establish a difference between what Helmut Schmidt did in day-to-day politics and what the party as a whole favoured.

Despite having conferred with Chancellor five times Mr Brezhnev never managed to establish with Schmidt the rapport he had with Brandt.

Since the open break-up of the coalition the Soviet Press has avoided polemics against the Christian Democrats and dealt with them in a more objective manner.

In retrospect the policy advocated by the CPSU Central Committee officials of maintaining ties solely with the Christian Democrats, and that, at the political level, can be seen to have not very astute.

Ties between Moscow and Bonn government level have for some time been limited to the bare diplomatic necessities. Hopes and dreams of a far-reaching process of change.

Soviet tactics on missile modernisation now look like having been a failure. It is an issue that will not be controversial in a CDU-led government as in the SPD.

Moscow may firmly expect the

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## The German Tribune

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## Jockeying for position in the corridors of power



FDP re-elected to the Bundestag and thus prevent an absolute majority for the conservatives.

But Genscher has to cope not only with the disunity in his own party; he also finds himself between the twin millstones of the CDU's and his former coalition partner's wish for revenge.

In fact, his struggle for survival might prove tougher than he thought. His hope of returning to the Foreign Ministry within a week or so and of instantly attending the UN General Assembly and the Nato conference in Montreal, thus presenting himself as a rock of continuity, seems a bit too optimistic.

The question is, will the conservative and liberal negotiators really succeed in reaching agreement in time?

To make matters worse, there are many specific issues that still have to be settled among the conservatives them-

selves, not to mention the tug-of-war over the distribution of cabinet posts. For the latter, there is only a limited reservoir of suitable men since many of the best are committed to state cabinets.

But the SPD is also faced with a serious internal conflict. And the discussion about the successor to its leader in the Bundestag Herbert Wehner, is only a foretaste.

Party Chairman Willy Brandt doesn't think much of the suggestion that Helmut Schmidt take over.

The old dispute as to the greatest threat to the SPD's future is starting up again.

Schmidt has always wanted to concentrate on the centre because he says this is where the real political decisions are made.

Brandt has always wanted to keep the outer wings of the party together to the point where he was prepared to accept a drift to the left and retrench at a 30 per cent level, accepting the loss of government power.

Schmidt's cards in this game are not particularly good. An indications as to how the forces left of centre could restructure themselves was provided by the joint action of the Jusos and Judo (the young members' organisations of SPD and FDP). The chairman of the Jusos has just called for a "new social bloc of reformers".

This bloc would consist of Social Democrats, left Liberals, suitable groupings of the Greens and the trade unions.

This makes a split of the FDP a danger that must be viewed as real.

There is a possibility that as a result of this power struggle our domestic policy will lose sight of its most important task: to ensure the long-term functioning of the parliamentary system and to arrive at a broad consensus for the new perspectives needed in view of the changes in our industrial society as a result of inevitable new technologies.

Belt-tightening and investment are as inadequate as a strategy as is mere manipulation in job-creating policies.

An all-out effort on the part of the public and all political forces will be needed if we are to weather this process.

Whatever the outcome of the power struggle in Bonn, what we need now is an alliance of commonsense.

Wolf J. Bell

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 21 September 1982)

## Coalition or not, a tough time lies ahead

It doesn't matter if the next government in Bonn consists of one party or a coalition: the next Chancellor and his cabinet will not be in an enviable position.

The CDU/CSU ministers and/or their Liberal partners will have to make unpopular decisions that will lead to stiff and widespread opposition.

Helmut Kohl's supposed plans for the future are bound not to coincide with basic public opinion.

In 1969, after the Grand Coalition interlude, when SPD and FDP took the plunge despite their slim parliamentary majority, they were at least able to do so in the certainty that their political aims would meet with public approval across party lines.

Then after years of student unrest and extraparlimentary opposition along with wide-spread disenchantment with the SPD-Conservative power cartel, a strong will to bring about reforms surfaced.

The electorate demonstrated this when it was called upon to chart the 'new course' at the polls, though not as clearly as in the graphs presented by opinion surveys.

But the outcome was clear: the mere administration by Ludwig Erhard - whom the CDU considered the ideal Chancellor - met with opposition and his ultimate toppling as Chancellor gave a push to the move for fundamental reform.

The Grand Coalition was unable to keep pace with this reform drive; and though it managed to put the budget on a sound footing, pass the emergency laws and usher in fiscal reforms it bogged down in day-to-day squabbles over minor details.

This was at the bottom of the longing for social reforms which were in any event part of the SPD programme and

for which the FDP under Walter Scheel had also opted.

At the same time, there was a growing conviction that the Federal Republic of Germany could no longer ignore the existence of the GDR. The call for a *Deutschlandpolitik* that would replace the confrontation with East Berlin by a dialogue grew louder. In fact, the whole of Bonn's *Ostpolitik* was put up for discussion.

A Social-Liberal coalition seemed the obvious way of satisfying these wishes. After all, the FDP had demanded a "policy of small steps" in the *Deutschlandpolitik* (which included passes for West Berliners to enable them to visit the Eastern half of the city) even under Erich Mende.

Ludwig Erhard was not prepared to agree. But, his successor, Kurt Georg Kiesinger, at least exchanged some letters with the GDR, which he invariably called "that phenomenon".

The Social Democrats also felt that this was not enough. Willy Brandt, who had stood for the Chancellorship twice, had rarely met with as much approval in his own party as when he put forward his thesis that the German-German confrontation must be replaced by "orderly relations".

All this met with an open ear in the Brandt/Scheel cabinet that had been formed in 1969. Both parties were determined to introduce domestic reforms and to relax relations with the East.

Now, in the 1980s, we again have two basic trends: the peace movement (which is not restricted to demonstrators) and the ecology consciousness to which the Greens owe their success, although it exists outside as their ranks well.

The most conspicuous difference between now and 1969 lies in the fact that the government that will soon take over

in Bonn will not necessarily bend to these trends.

Disregarding Kurt Biedenkopf and Richard von Weizsäcker for the moment, the conservatives have not yet found the right stance to adopt towards the spreading fear of an unchecked arms buildup.

In any event, it is not enough to condemn the longing for a policy that would promote peace and stem the arms buildup by such generalisations as "dangerous anti-Americanism coupled with an equally dangerous neutralism."

Granted, there are anti-American accents in the peace movement but they are restricted to what is being done or intended by the Reagan Administration. The accusation of neutralism is also wrong.

After all, there are also conservatives, social democrats, liberals and undogmatic leftists who propagate a "new patriotism" involved in the discussion on nationhood and the future of the divided nation.

True, the blueprints that are being put forward are often enough immature, too theoretical and sometimes utopian.

But arms reduction is the common bond for all these people in their various camps who consider a head-on clash of the blocs more likely today than it was only a few years ago.

Those who will soon govern in Bonn are also not necessarily convinced of the urgency of ecological issues.

Though the CDU has some pioneers in this field, like the party's general secretary, Heiner Geissler, they are voices crying in the wilderness.

A Kohl government must face the fact that it will have to deal not only with those groups of the public who will protest against the added burdens that are imposed on them but also with growing pressure from those crying out for a policy aimed at securing the peace and safeguarding the ecology. And it is not only with the peace movement and the Greens that these objectives rank first.

Helmut Bauer

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 21 September 1982)



## ■ THE LAW

## Closed hearings sought for some criminal cases

A prominent lawyer wants the accused in criminal trials to have the right to decide whether their trial will be open to the public.

His idea is that journalists would be allowed to attend, but would not be allowed to report until the end of the trial. This would apply to hearings at all levels including appeal courts.

The lawyer, Hans Dahs, says that open trials bring too much influence to bear on witnesses, judges, prosecutors and counsel.

He says the influence is indirect (through the Press) and direct and it is essentially negative. It means that justice is not seen to be done.

But the proposals met with stiff resistance at the 54th annual conference of German lawyers in Nuremberg.

Other issues dealt with included legal steps to help prevent companies going broke; the legal position of foster children; and standardisation procedures for some civil courts.

On the closed trial issue, the prevailing view was that courts should make better use of existing provisions to restrain the Press.

Objections to Dahs' plan included:

- Trials would become surrounded by myth because of the secrecy.
- The Press would somehow find a way to beat the law.

Supreme Court Judge Hanns Karl Salger said lower court judges should be bolder in using their current right of banning the public temporarily from court in certain cases.

He warned against clogging up the

criminal trial proceedings even more. This must have been a reference to an idea put forward last year by German and Swiss lawyers. They called for some parts of trials to be held in secret where the accused had confessed.

The idea was to maintain privacy where the charge was not serious. This is another issue on which the conference is going to have to take a stand.

The other issues dealt with by the 2,800 lawyers from many countries were less controversial but not less important.

The work that dealt with ways of preventing company insolvencies through the law and putting them back on their feet through a new reorganisation procedure attracted the most interest.

Attempts are already being made in the USA, France and Italy. There were many foreigners in this work group.

It is here that a wide variety of interests such as bankers, creditors, management and the trade unions as representatives of labour clashed.

But discussion was not marked by the implacable political and ideological conflicts of some previous congresses.

The family affairs work group dealt with a growing problem: the legal position of foster children. This is to be re-defined. According to recent estimates, there are some 110,000 foster children living with strangers or relatives. The exact number is unknown.

The Civil Code has relatively few provisions dealing with foster children. There are some provisions in the Youth

Welfare Act. But practice shows that they are inadequate to cope with the problems that are bound to arise, especially when a child in a permanent foster home develops emotional ties to his foster parents and the natural parents want him back.

There are many difficulties about making on-the-spot and legally binding decisions over foster children.

Must the lawmakers come up with a comprehensive set of laws defining the rights and duties of foster parents, natural parents and the foster child?

Many of the delegates said foster parents do not have enough rights.

Professor Reinhart Lempp said that a foster home should become permanent once it had established itself over a period. This would avoid struggles between foster and natural parents. But his proposal met with much opposition.

Another work group dealt with a government draft for a standardisation of procedures for Administrative, Social Affairs and Fiscal Courts.

The governments of Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria reject the draft because — as Baden-Württemberg's Justice Minister Heinz Eyrich told the Bundestag — it confused procedures and was not practicable for the courts.

The objections focussed on the proposals to use single judges instead of a panel in Administrative Courts and the restriction of appeals.

Administrative Court Judge George Häring opposed the draft provision that would make higher Administrative Courts the first and only instance in complicated cases such as authorisation for nuclear power stations.

He said these cases in particular would involve for hearings in several courts. (Georg Häring was involved as a judge in the Wyhl nuclear power station hearings.)

Claus Donath  
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 17 September 1982)

## Secret trials 'a threat to legal principle'

development of German law since the Weimarer era would not have progressed as far.

Almost all delegates at this conference were opposed to making hearings any less open.

The most avid opponents of open trials argue that all major criminal proceedings should be held in closed court. Curiously, the most lively supporters of this anachronistic demand are criminal lawyers acting for clients.

The openness of criminal trials, they say, no longer guarantees a fair process. Instead, it strips the accused of protection and invades his privacy.

They illustrate this by saying: there is nothing a doctor accused of malpractice must fear more than a group of school children being taken to the court by their teacher to get a first-hand view of the workings of the law.

Back home, the children spread their version of the trial among parents and neighbours. The doctor finds himself without patients — regardless whether he has been acquitted or not.

But the criminal lawyers' main target of attack is not the public. It is the media, the yellow press and illustrated magazines in particular, whose reporters are looking for sensation.

These reports often have little to do

with reality. The distortions, the criminal lawyers say, usually are at the expense of the accused.

Hans Dahs, the son of post-war Germany's most prominent criminal lawyer, who is spearheading the movement against open trials, does not want to bar all journalists from the proceedings. What he wants is an absolute ban on reporting until passing of the sentence in the first instance.

If the laws demanded by Dahs were to become reality, the muzzling of journalists would not only hit those who are out for a sensation.

It would also hit commentators of serious newspapers and independent broadcasting stations who would be prevented from criticising justice in questionable cases. This is a procedure which helps to ensure that justice is done.

Most miscarriages of justice occur in the first court. But once they have happened they are almost never rectified later.

Preventing journalists from reporting during a trial would amount to leaving the proceedings entirely to the courts and lawyers. They alone would safeguard basic rights in a trial — a function they have so far not excelled at.

Where the principle that an accused is innocent until proven guilty is in danger of being undermined by a media barrage against him, the public's rights must take second place. But must we really throw the baby out with the bathwater — only because the water is a bit too hot?

Hans Schupler  
(Die Zeit, 17 September 1982)

## Differences

Continued from page 2

comes from Latin America, the bean, Mexico and the Asian countries. Congress in Washington form of the US government and a new generation of American politicians intends to undertake a critical re-examination of the situation.

This they plan to do in view of the fact that America's economy is in a state of stagnation.

Given the historical development of West Germany and the position of the Federal Republic, CDU Chancellor will have to but to do political business with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

At times he will also need to take specific needs of the European community that run counter to Washington wants.

The Yamal gas pipeline from Siberia to Western Europe is only the beginning of the problems emerging on the political horizon.

Providing no progress is made in Geneva talks between the superpowers, the time will inevitably come when the missile modernisation race has to be implemented.

Falling a compromise between America and Russia, the United States start to deploy Cruise and Pershing missiles in Germany.

Officially, Washington has nothing to say about the crisis in Bonn. It is aware that anything it might say would be misunderstood or interpreted as gross intervention in German domestic affairs.

But Washington has followed a course of events in Bonn. Americans who have come to know and appreciate Helmut Schmidt over the years find it difficult to understand what a turning point it is.

Being intimately aware of the relations with Bonn they will be aware of the significance of the move of the coalition of Social and Liberal Democrats.

They will have no illusions or wishful thinking about the change of power in Bonn.

They will also know that the move of genuine, experienced Europe in key US government departments is declining rapidly.

The number of Americans who know the ins and outs of the German situation can be counted on the fingers of both hands these days.

There is a psychologically significant gap between the pioneering days of the Atlantic alliance and its present position.

It is not yet clear who will take place in the United States.

So US observers are right in assuming that a new Bonn Chancellor may have an easier time in dealing with Washington than his predecessor.

The new man may well have more common ideological views with Mr. Reagan and his aides than Herr Schmidt.

But Chancellor Schmidt spoke in fact English and his insight into the Anglo-Saxon mind made it much easier for him to appreciate what made America tick.

Jan Reiffenberger  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 September 1982)

## THE ECONOMY

## Three ways to hit unemployment without getting paralysed by pessimism

There are no patent recipes to combat long-term unemployment. But the Institute for Management Studies (IIMV) has produced recently at a meeting in Berlin.

The head of the International Institute of Management and Administration (IIMV), Fritz W. Scharpf, sketches the political scene in Bonn: a pessimistic view of the employment prospects and growing unemployment.

There was not much evidence of pessimism in Count Otto Lambsdorff's proposals for austerity which led to the breakup of the Bonn coalition.

Economic Affairs Minister until he was replaced by the other FDP Ministers, he says it usually takes a long time for local businessmen to acquire faith in such promotion efforts.

The second sector of employment promotion — active job creation — also needs decentralisation, particularly for local employment offices, says IIMV.

Unfortunately, they are doubly plagued by Bonn's cash problems. They are understaffed, so it is impossible to cope with the growing tide of jobless; and, they say their budgets have been so drastically cut that they have had to reduce job-creation measures.

There are now only 27,000 "problem jobs" included in what is known as *Arbeitsbeschäftigungsmassnahmen* (ABM). These are special projects organised by the Labour Office in a bid to create jobs. A year ago, the figure stood at 41,000.

Since two-thirds of those included in the ABM find permanent jobs, nothing can be achieved by budget cutbacks in this field because they only lead to increased spending for unemployment benefits.

According to an IIMV survey, DM1m in government spending creates 10 to 20 new jobs if used for public sector investments. The same amount spent on ABM would create 40 to 50 new jobs.

IIMV surveys in Gelsenkirchen and Leer show that — contrary to detractors claiming the opposite — there are enough meaningful ABM projects.

Gelsenkirchen has expanded its ABM since 1977 in an effort to create

has a monostructure (textiles) and a shortage of public sector services and infrastructural institutions.

But Borken has for the past ten years had a central business promotion agency operated by the local authorities.

The agency has helped remove the threshold fear of small and medium sized companies in their dealings with the authorities. It has helped establish contacts between companies, banks, chambers of commerce, associations and the various authorities concerned.

Many small businessmen go to the agency when they think they have a good idea but do not know how to put it into action.

But such local business promotion presupposes long-term support for existing businesses rather than one-shot efforts to bring new industries to the region, says Benny Hjerm of the IIMV.

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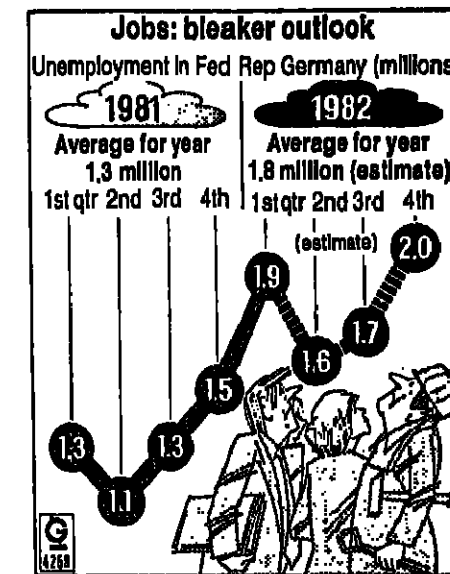
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Lower Saxony) between 1979 and 1981.

These states introduced one-shot wage subsidies ranging between DM1,200 and DM3,500 for every newly-created part-time job. The terms varied from state to state, which naturally had an effect on the results.

Bremen promoted skilled part-time jobs only. The result was that there were relatively few takers for the subsidies.

Bremen was also the only state to include men as well in the scheme (most other programmes were for unemployed women).

Most of the jobless who found work in this way had been unemployed for more than three months.

IIMV's Renate Weltzel and Andreas Hoff stress, however, that four-fifths of the jobs would have been created anyway because the companies needed extra staff.

It also turned out that, while it would have been best to draft the conditions for the subsidies in a way that would prevent the use of part-time workers below their qualifications, this would have met with lack of employer interest.

The researchers conclude that any meaningful state measures to promote part-time work call for special conditions.

The state and the parties to collective bargaining would have to do their share in making "the status of part-time work equal to that of full-time employment."

This would call for strict regulations governing minimum working times and social conditions to arrive at through collective bargaining.

The technical and organisational prerequisites for part-time work should be better researched and there should be more information on them.

One of the main aspects here would be to improve the quality of part-time work.

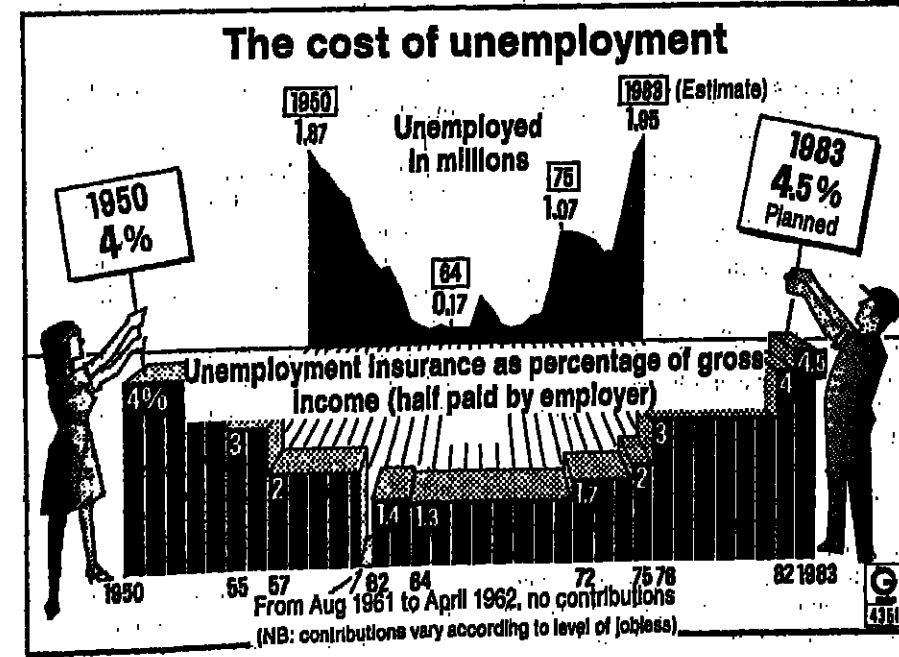
Government agencies should promote a few selected model companies of various sizes and in various branches of industry. These should be companies that allow more self-determination in matters of part-time work, such as job sharing.

The possibilities of part-time work in the public sector have been "far from exhausted," the study says.

Most IIMV studies are aimed at researching the institutional preconditions for a successful realisation of employment initiatives such as the question as to how existing programmes can be "sold" to local authorities.

Most studies show that what matters primarily is to have a network of counselling and information agencies. Another important aspect is for public institutions, organisations and companies to cultivate contacts.

Roland Bunzenhals  
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 September 1982)





## BUSINESS

## Best hopes rest with what next year might bring

When the export business was booming in the spring, many businessmen warned that it would not last. Their warnings seem to be coming true.

The warnings then were based on doubts about being able to finance, in the long term, capital goods deals.

But the decisive elements today are spreading protectionism and the worldwide decline in demand.

Germany's exports so far this year have not been bad at all. The first seven months of the year showed a growth of more than 11 per cent against the same period in 1981. Adjusted for inflation, this still amounts to five-per-cent growth.

But the past few months have seen a drop in exports — the first for some time.

According to Bundesbank figures, the decline from the beginning of May to the end of July against the previous three months was a nominal one and a real three per cent (seasonally adjusted).

This means that exports in terms of volume were not much higher than a year ago.

There is no change for the better in sight, as evidenced by the influx of orders. In terms of volume, industry's foreign orders (May to July) were down eight per cent against the previous three months. This means that towards the end of this period the level of a year ago was not even reached.

The main reason for this change lies in the fact that most Western industrial countries have also failed to overcome the recession, and it is these countries to which three-quarters of our exports go.

It is especially the champions in the export field, such as the machinery, electrical and commercial vehicle industries, that were particularly badly hit by low investments abroad.

The steel industry has also been hit hard.

These trends have been aggravated by Third World and East Bloc balance of payments problems.

Even some Opec countries, whose orders pushed along last year's export boom, have had to tighten their belts now. Their foreign exchange reserves have declined due to reduced oil consumption and low prices.

Exports to Libya, Nigeria and Iraq are down, leaving only Saudi Arabia

and Kuwait buying German goods just as heavily.

The situation in non-oil producing developing countries is much worse. Steep rises in foreign debt and the persistence of high interest rates have forced them to cut back on imports.

The East Bloc situation is similar. The increase in shipments to the Soviet Union — especially pipeline components — is the exception rather than the rule. Indicators show that exports will remain low for the next few months.

Most economists, along with the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry, even expect exports to decline in the second half of the year because there is nothing to indicate that the economic position of trading partners will improve in the near future.

## State-owned firms criticised

Germany's state-owned corporations have come under heavy fire from the Institute for the Germany Economy (IW), an organisation with close ties to the business community.

A study says that, in a market economy, the business policy of state-owned companies should be geared to general economic necessities and serve as an instrument of the state's economic policy.

German state-owned companies had not done this.

For example, in the worst post-war recession, in 1975, they went further in cutting back on investments than the German business community as a whole and reduced their payrolls by three per cent.

IW says: "By adopting this attitude, Germany's state-owned corporations have worsened the general economic decline and thus failed in their function."

In view of this, it was now more necessary to consider privatizing these businesses. This could relieve public sector budgets.

But the study also finds certain things in favour of state-owned German companies when comparing them with others in the European Community.

Though across-the-board capital goods investment in the EEC countries declined against the previous year in 1975 (the decline ranged from one per cent in Britain and 12.7 per cent in Ita-

ly) state-owned companies in most Community nations went against the trend and invested.

Capital goods investments by Luxembourg state-owned companies were up 27.4 per cent in the crisis year 1975. The figures for Holland, Britain and France were 22.8, 14.7 and 14.1 per cent respectively.

"The state-owned companies of these countries thus clearly acted anticyclically," says IW.

Those in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Italy, on the other hand, did nothing to oppose the general downward trend.

In Germany, for instance, the investments of state-owned companies declined more steeply (7.7 per cent) than those of private industry (4.2 per cent) in 1975.

Along with Ireland, the Federal Republic of Germany is the only EEC country whose state-owned companies laid off staff in 1975.

IW concedes, however, that there is a difference in the role state-owned companies play in the various EEC countries.

Their share of overall capital investments stands at 3.8 per cent in Luxembourg and 16.3 per cent in Britain.

In Germany, they account for about ten per cent of total investments.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 21 September 1982)

## Confidence the elixir, says Bundesbank

But none of this has helped growth. The GNP in the first half of this year equalled that of the second half of 1981. And around the middle of the year, industrial output actually declined.

Since industry is cutting down on staff, unemployment continued to rise during the summer.

The Bundesbank says the deteriorating business prospects are because of flagging exports. Foreign demand, which was the main pillar of the economy at the beginning of the year, is flagging and new orders are slowing.

Demand has declined particularly in the Opec countries.

Plagued by balance of payments problems, the developing countries and the East Bloc have also had to cut back.

Though German exports to other industrial countries are still tending to rise, the Bundesbank fears that it won't last.

Conditions for investments have improved — and this concerns primarily the earnings of the business community.

But many companies are not yet over the hump because they have not yet managed to offset the losses of the past few years.

The Bundesbank report was prepared before the breakdown of the Bonn coalition.

Harald Manke  
(Lübecker Nachrichten, 21 September 1982)

## Emergency warning for sick firms

Small and medium sized businesses in trouble now have an emergency service to contact.

Their national federation has set up an anti-bankruptcy counselling service in Bonn because more and more firms are going to the wall.

Insolvencies rose by 39 per cent in the first half this year to 7,462 compared with the first half last year.

Big firms can always use management consultants when they have problems, but not smaller firms. Managements often know neither to do nor who to speak to.

The new service has 100 counsellors who work in close consultation with firms of management consultants.

The first step is to find out what is wrong. Then what can be done. Counsellors act as temporary managers. They do what they can help, including negotiating with banks to reschedule loans.

Federal and state funds subsidise consultancy fees by between 25 and 50 per cent.

Small and medium sized firms themselves in trouble for many reasons: bad organisation, wrong products, many debts, customers who won't pay.

Dieter Härthe of the service: "There was one case in which a perfectly healthy firm found itself in difficulties because a government authority did not pay its bills."

The service is available not only to the 40,000 member companies of the federation but to all firms employing 500 people.

Horst Zimmermann  
(Bremer Nachrichten, 14 September 1982)

## Salary freeze called for

Wages should not be increased next year and civil service salaries should be frozen, says the Kiel Institute for the World Economy.

It makes the recommendation in its latest report. If the economic policy makers don't come up with some ideas, the recession might become a depression.

In any case, it does not expect economic decline to bottom out before next year.

It sees a marked change of mood in the danger that dashed hopes for an upswing, inadequate profits and high wages will lead to large-scale layoffs on loans. This could lead to a debt bottleneck.

The institute regards the biggest danger as uncertainty because of the people from investing and buying.

But the institute also sees a growing realisation that new state borrowing must be accepted. But this must be done in hand-in-hand with the removal of taxes if it is to stimulate investment.

Though providing no figures, the institute predicts that the bottleneck will last longer than originally assumed.

Following a decline in growth next year, there will at best be a moderate improvement in 1983 — provided there are no panic reactions.

Unemployment in 1983 will be the highest since 1975, and the rate will continue to decline.

The institute recommends zero interest rates and a freeze on salaries.

Peter Chiller  
(Die Welt, 17 September 1982)

## THE MOTOR INDUSTRY

## Something for everyone at motorcycle exhibition

The 15th International Bicycle and Motorcycle Fair in Cologne can claim to have been the world's largest two-wheeler show.

There were 1,234 exhibitors from 37 countries and they displayed their range of bikes and bling in three halls at the cathedral city's exhibition grounds.

Headed the list of foreign exhibitors with 237, followed by France, Japan and the U.S.

Manufacturers, 236, concentrated on the bicycle and cycling. Only 106 exclusively with the motorbike.

Motorcycles held pride of place, at least on days when the exhibition was open to the general public.

Motorbike fans from all over Europe converged on Cologne, and although dealer sales are showing signs of a recovery, the fair organisers felt confident that they would break all records.

The market leader, has a number of new ideas for 1983 even though new models were unveiled as recently as last spring.

There were eight new models, or more, with major changes, on show in the four-cylinder engine of the PXL 50 is a distinctively styled moped, of which the Camino C will be the chopper version.

Kawasaki plans to make headway in the enduro market with the KL 500, unveiled for the first time in Cologne. It has a 560cc water-cooled engine developing 50 horse power and disc brakes in front for safety's sake.

The engine has a sleek and slender look, the bike weighs 180kg (396lb) and develops 50 DIN horse power.

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said to relieve one of the major problems of emergency braking.

The liquid-cooled VF 750 F has sold well this year in a chopper version. Honda are now putting a sports casing round the ninety-degree four-stroke engine, which develops 86 horse power.

Honda say it is a lightweight sports model that has the good looks of a road racer.

The CX 500 Turbo, in contrast, has been discontinued, which was high time. It was a sensation at the last Cologne fair two years ago but failed to live up to expectations on the road.

Its place has been taken by the CX 650 Turbo, which is claimed to do the job much more effectively.

The VT 500 E is undoubtedly the most interesting newcomer to the range. It has a liquid-cooled two-cylinder engine mounted at an angle of 52 degrees.

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The GPZ range has been extended, with five models being for the most part given a new look.

Versions are available from 250cc to 1,000cc, while the 750cc model packs more punch at 85 horse power.

Suzuki are determined to retain their appeal for sports-minded bikers. The main features of the new GSX 550 E are its rectangular tube frame, its new four-valve engine and twin carbs.

It weighs 185kg (407lb) and develops 62 horse power at 9,500rpm.

The new GR 650 is a lightweight two-cylinder model, a tourer with no frills. A flywheel that decouples as the rev count increases ensures smooth running in low revs.

BMW had nothing much that was new to offer this year. The four-cylinder engine was not yet available, so the only innovations on show in Cologne were the R 80 ST and the R 80 RT.

Both are based on the successful R 80 G/S. The RT is designed to appeal to the tourist who attaches importance to comfort over long distances.

Yamaha had six new models at Cologne, and it was worth noting that the first newcomer was a neat scooter, not a big, heavy bike.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 September 1982)

## Will Rabbit run under new American VW ad campaign?

Dieter Rabitzel

Dieter Rabitzel means excellent. It's a tongue-twister for most Americans. Why Doyle Dane Bernbach, the New York advertising agency, feel it's right for the latest Volkswagen advertising campaign in the United States.

Dieter Rabitzel has decided the time has come to go German again. He says the days when Volkswageners don't come up with some ideas, the recession might become a depression.

In any case, it does not expect economic decline to bottom out before next year.

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has three explanations at the ready to account for this turn for the worse:

- US car-buyers are less interested in low fuel consumption;
- economic circumstances in general are unsatisfactory;
- and Volkswagen's marketing has lost its sense of direction to some extent.

Now that fuel prices in the United States have stabilised and fears of supply bottlenecks and sky-high prices have been allayed, Americans are opting for models of car that are a size larger.

Economy champions like the VW Rabbit have lost much of their attraction. Interest has vanished almost overnight in the diesel engine, which not long ago seemed to be the shape of things to come.

This is partly because diesel is no longer 12 cents cheaper than conventional fuel; it is 10 cents dearer than gasoline.

Volkswagen have been particularly hard hit because last year seven out of 10 cars run off the Pennsylvania assembly lines were diesel-engined.

Over the past few months diesel Rabbits have made up only 30 per cent of sales, so this setback has put Volkswagen out into the cold of competition, after relying on a specific market.

This year only an estimated eight mil-

lion cars will sell in the US market, including imports, whereas American manufacturers have a capacity of between 12 and 13 million.

Among compacts in particular, competition is increasingly via price cuts. General Motors have announced cuts of between \$250 and \$1,500 for 1983 models.

Last spring Volkswagen too slashed the price of the Rabbit by \$300, but the company has come to realise that VW is likely to lose a straightforward price war.

Instead, says Mr Fuller, Volkswagen are to go in for disciplined, consistent image advertising designed to convey the impression that VWs are performance cars based on German engineering.

Porsche and Audi have been relying on a similar marketing concept since the beginning of this year.

Audi advertising has for the most part been limited to the idea of the Audi as a Bavarian de luxe limousine, with Neuschwanstein Castle in the background.

Since the campaign began, says Mr Fuller, Audi as a make of car has grown 40 per cent better known.

But astute advertising alone is not going to solve Volkswagen's problems in America. Maryann Keller, who analyses the US auto market for Paine Webber, the investment brokers, feels American buyers look on the Rabbit as being outdated.

So what is needed, she says, is a new or changed product. At Volkswagen of America no-one is yet prepared to say whether this idea is particularly outrageous.

Joe Rao  
(Die Zeit, 24 September 1982)



## POLITICAL BOOKS

## American holds up a mirror for the Germans

At a time when ties between Americans and Germans are clouded, a book by an American writer has been published in the Federal Republic of Germany that outlines to German readers reasons that lie deeper than differences of opinion on the pipeline embargo and steel exports.

Gordon A. Craig is an American of Scottish extraction who for decades has dealt in depth with the Germans and their history.

He has taught history at Stanford, California, served as a visiting professor at the Free University in West Berlin and is the author of books that include the highly regarded *German History 1866-1945*.

Professor Craig has now summarised his findings on Germany in a book published last year in the United States and now in Germany as *Über die Deutschen. Ein historisches Porträt*.

It is a collection of essays divided into three sections, the first of which is an introduction to the problems and includes titles such as *Historical Perspectives, Politics in New Directions* and *Hitler and the New Generation*.

The second section, *Change and Continuity*, deals with individual issues, such as religion, money, women, university students and staff, Romanticism and the military.

Its aim is to demonstrate that in everything new since 1945 the old, born and articulated in the past, has continued more or less to wield an effect.

In the third section Professor Craig tries to answer the question: how firm is the groundwork in which German democracy is laid?

It is a kind of mirror held up to us Germans by a US historian conversant with us and well disposed toward us, a book that shows us who we really are, basing its inferences on our origins, and trying to sound out where we are heading. It has taken an American to deduce our current condition from our history, just as Professor Craig regrets the continued ahistorical tendency in Germany.

There may have been a few refreshing exceptions to the rule recently, but by and large the ahistorical trend has failed to produce a book to rival this one for academic detail, literary standing and sheer readability.

The prevailing view, at least in German university circles, is, as Professor Craig notes, that a book which can be read without difficulty cannot be taken seriously.

His book about the Germans is written mainly with Americans in mind. That explains why it is written for an initial reading public who cannot be expected to know too much about Germany, especially its history.

Since this is no less true of many Germans, there is every reason why it should appeal to German readers too.

He seeks in particular to answer questions increasingly asked by Americans about the Germans, their allies, and he notes that "since the end of the Adenauer era, a period in which democracy in the Federal Republic of Germany seemed to have been established and consolidated on firm foundations" new trends calling to mind the past have arisen.

This is a 'turn of events more and

more Germans have noted with anxiety. They will read with interest the answers Craig provides primarily for his fellow-countrymen.

Most Germans are still in favour of the alliance with the West and keen to see it continue, so they cannot be indifferent as to what our major allies think about us.

It is not just a matter of military arrangements and economic cooperation but also, and primarily, one of basic political views being attuned to each other.

The post-war decision to side with the West was fundamentally linked, as Craig impressively shows, with the commitment to democratic ideas and the adoption of parliamentary institutions.

Gordon A. Craig, *Über die Deutschen. Ein historisches Porträt*, translated by Herman Stiehl, published by C. H. Beck, Munich, 382pp, DM34.

Parliamentary democracy was impressively endorsed in 1848/49 but failed to take root in the Prussian Reich, while Western democracy soon came to grief in the Weimar Republic.

It did so because German tradition, a term that may be preferred to the German inheritance or patrimony, regained the upper hand.

Will Bonn revert to Weimar? Professor Craig hopes not, but he does not rule out the possibility. Intellectual and political behaviour patterns of the past have put in a fresh appearance of late.

It is not just a matter of conventional German susceptibility to the East, felt nowadays by socialist wheeler-dealers rather than national bolsheviks or Prussian militarists.

It is mainly, as Craig argues, the old contrast between the German Romantic movement and the Western Enlightenment that in one version after another constantly reappears Germany's relationship with the West and thereby endangers democracy in Germany.

He recalls in connection with the student movement the activities of the Nazi student league in the dying days of the Weimar Republic.

In the current protest and dropout movement he sees the old flight from reality, the old contempt for common sense.

It is a stimulating book and sounds a warning note that has come at the right time. One could but wish that the Germans, especially young Germans, heeded Professor Craig's warnings in time.

Franz Herre  
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,  
3 September 1982)

Continued from page 2

generation of US missiles to be deployed in Europe.

Kremlin support for the SPD, including steering clear of all steps that might have upgraded CDU/CSU politicians, has ruled out any exchange of views with the Bonn Opposition.

Opposition leaders such as Herr Strauss, who has a number of qualities that are highly rated by Mr Brezhnev and his aides, have sought in vain to be invited to Moscow.

In the wake of communications difficulties with Washington, London and Paris, Moscow now runs the risk of forfeiting an 'opposite number' in Bonn with whom it has been able to talk.

Soviet leaders are not sure of CDU leader Helmut Kohl's political standing.

Alois Mertes, CDU/CSU Bundestag spokesman on foreign affairs, was, in his days as a diplomat, declared perso-

## Essay collection speculates on German reunification

German unity is an issue of continual humanitarian, intellectual and cultural concern. It is also the long-term objective of all responsible policy in the Federal Republic of Germany.

It may well not be achieved this century, so the title of Wolfgang Venohr's latest book, *German Unity Will Come For Sure*, sounds unlikely.

The book is a collection of eight essays. In his preface, Venohr enlarges on his axiomatic title:

"It will either come by way of a military catastrophe, in which case German reunification will take place in a mass grave.

"Or it will come as a political solution, in which case German unity will prove the sole effective guarantee of peace in Europe."

This comment fairly reflects the views outlined in the book as a whole.

All authors other than Franz Herre, the historian, who deals with Franco-German ties, see blocs as being abolished and imperialist tutelage coming to an end in both East and West.

An intra-German confederation is envisaged as emerging from a new synthesis of conservative nation-state views and Marxist progression.

A misinterpretation of the February 1945 Yalta conference lays the groundwork for various errors of perspective and an equidistance that fails to do justice to the clash between Western democracy and Communist ideology.

There was no such thing as a Yalta system that laid down the division of Germany and was to form the basis of a European balance of power.

Yalta was merely a vain bid by the Western Allies to salvage beyond the imminent end of the war the cooperation with the Soviet Union that was forced on them by Hitler's policies.

It is understandable that the historian Hellmut Diwald chose to contribute toward the compendium. Among German historians it was he who first voiced the view that Yalta lay at the root of all evil.

That is certainly the view he espoused in his *History of the Germans*. He complains that the Allies in 1945 dug deep into the consciousness of the defeated Germans.

He forgets to mention how their consciousness had previously been marked by Hitler.

na non grata at the German embassy in Moscow.

He points out that the CDU/CSU, far from overlooking the leading role played by the Soviet Union, never disregarded it in the days when it was in power in Bonn.

Herr Mertes refers to the establishment of diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union and Chancellor Adenauer's 1955 visit to Moscow.

He mentions the first bilateral treaties with the Kremlin in 1958/59, which dealt with economic and cultural cooperation, and the repatriation of ethnic Germans from the Soviet Union.

He also notes that it was a CDU/CSU-led Bonn government that offered to sign a treaty renouncing the use of force with the USSR after the 1962 Cuban crisis.

Contrary to trenchant criticism in the past, the Christian Democrats now take a more positive view of Bonn's treaties with the East bloc countries in the 1970s.

It is no surprise that Peter Brandt, Herbert Ammon, both socialist and see a prospect of ending the arbitrary laid-down territorial division of German people and thereby safeguarding peace in Europe.

They say the "positive misinterpretation of purportedly peace-loving and liberal US imperialism" by the Social Democrats can look back on a long history.

More surprisingly than such a point expressed by left-wingers, Herfried Rüdtenklau, a *Deutschlandpolitik* search worker for the CDU/CSU destag group, claims in his article Konrad Adenauer never regarded German unity and freedom as priority goals.

One is more tempted to believe Wolfgang Seiffert, a former GDR donor lives and works in the Federal public of Germany.

Wolfgang Venohr, *Die deutsche Einheit kommt bestimmt* (German Unity Will Come For Sure), published by Querverlag, Leipzig, 192pp, DM12.

Professor Seiffert sees a possibility the inner dynamic of the GDR within the framework of overall Soviet strategy one day leading to a forward approach to national unity.

His outline of the GDR Communist mentality is one of the more readable parts of the book.

To sum up the collection one might say to contrast with this view is Herfried Rüdtenklau's, who writes that: "Anyone who wants to end the division of Germany today must do so with an easy anti-fascist conscience."

Thé only contributor who might be said to contrast with this view is Herfried Rüdtenklau, who asks: "Which of us do you mean, please?"

"Before national unity comes," warns, "we ought to devote thought to what benefit it might be expected to bring us." He is absolutely right on point.

Franz Herre quotes in his essay polyte Taine, writing in 1869: "The man forms himself and changes his character." It is now 1982 but Taine's comment still holds good.

Gerd Roser  
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,  
6 August 1982)

So Herr Kohl's *Ostpolitik*, while might be slightly different in personal style, is unlikely to differ substantially from his predecessor's because there is very little leeway.

Times have changed, illusions have been dashed. Limits to what might be held in common have been highlighted by Soviet foreign policy in the past in connection with the pressor unit, but they were all hoped for by many after the Helsinki accords, has failed to materialise.

It looks very much as though the cow is growing readier to tighten reins at home now enthusiasm for *Westpolitik* is on the decline.

Soviet policymakers have reached a conclusion that their partners in the West no longer want a dialogue. Russians have always understood speaking, polemics apart.

Peter Seibert  
(Kießer Nachrichten, 24 September 1982)

## AEROSPACE

## Faulty turbine blamed as European rocket plunges into the sea

The third stage of Europe's Ariane launcher rocket lies on the seabed three miles deep 625 miles off the coast of West Africa.

It is the Marecs B and Sirio 2, the third stage of the Ariane rocket, that was its payload, and the cause of failure, a faulty turbine compressor unit.

But in the event of delay Exosat may not be put into orbit by Ariane. The satellite's window on the sky shuts in January, and if it is not launched by January the blast-off will have to be postponed for months.

If there is no longer enough time to launch Exosat Esa will probably bring forward the launching of the ECS comet.

The major payload in the cone of the Ariane that plunged to the bed of the Atlantic was Marecs B. It was to hover over the Pacific and serve as a relay link between ships at sea and coastal stations.

The satellite was built by Esa and would, if everything had gone according to schedule, have been leased to Inmarsat, the international maritime satellite organisation.

Inmarsat is an international consortium to which 37 countries at present belong. Its aim is to set up and run a maritime telecom network spanning the entire world.

Since Inmarsat planned only to lease Marecs B, Esa must now shoulder the loss on its own, although the satellite was insured for \$20m.

The first and second stages functioned without hitches, and about five minutes after blast-off, at an altitude of 85 miles, the third and final stage was ignited.

It was due to burn for about nine minutes, but after 4 minutes 23 seconds the third stage no longer worked according to plan.

The rev count of the turbine compressor, that conveyed liquid hydrogen to the rocket's engine declined rapidly under pressure in the engine chamber connected to zero, flight engineers said with dismay on their monitor.

He, Claude Nicollier of Switzerland and Wubbo Ockels of Holland were shortlisted and accepted by Nasa as potential astronauts.

Merbold was a research scientist at the Max Planck Metals Research Institute in Stuttgart, where he worked on damage caused to metals by neutron radiation.

It is, a former colleague says, an important research sector for selecting materials to use in nuclear and fusion reactors.

In outer space he will be carrying out entirely different experiments as a payload specialist on Spacelab's maiden mission.

Spacelab, built in Bremen, is designed strictly for scientific and technological research. Over 50 research scientists in various disciplines have proposed experiments that might be carried out in space.

Merbold and a US astronaut will be the laboratory assistants engaged in all those scientific experiments in outer space. He will maintain constant radio contact with scientists at the ground stations.

Experiments on the first Spacelab mission will concentrate on the biological sciences and on process engineering. Merbold's work will range from measuring the blood pressure of his colleagues and taking blood samples from his fellow-astronauts to hard-soldering metals.

Spacelab has cost European taxpayers nearly DM2bn. Scientists hope experiments on board will tell them more about the effect of zero gravity on living beings.

On the industrial side, new micro-electronics and metallurgical techniques are to be put through their paces in outer space.

Merbold, his wife Birgit and their two children, a three-year-old son and a seven-year-old daughter, at the moment live in the United States.

He feels his work in space is a major challenge. "The Spacelab mission," he says, "is a unique opportunity for me to gain access to other specialised fields of research."

He will shortly be returning to Cologne where he and his fellow-astronauts will undergo a four-week training programme at the Aerospace Research Institute. It will then be straight back to America.

At his old research lab in Stuttgart the news that Merbold, a keen glider pilot, had been selected was welcomed enthusiastically.

A spokesman for the Max Planck institute said he could come back any time. His job would still be his for the asking.

Will he be going back to Stuttgart after a week in outer space? He doesn't know.

His first thought is how he relishes the prospect of experiencing weightlessness personally. He is not in the least worried.

His mother, Hilde, is confident too. "It will all be all right," she feels. "Everything has gone ahead according to plan so far."

Horst Rademacher  
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 22 September 1982)



identify in shape and spectral make-up X-ray radiation in outer space.

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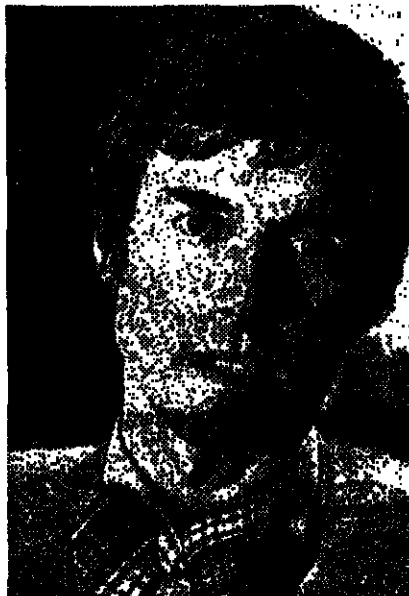
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Horst Rademacher  
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 22 September 1982)

## German chosen for Nasa space probe



Ulf Merbold... his mother says everything will be all right.

(Photo: dpa)

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Spacelab has cost European tax-

fair number of customers: firm orders for 24 satellites and options for a further 12.

As Ariane had performed so well the management were expecting to do good business in the second half of this decade.

Between 1985 and 1991 an estimated 250 satellites will need launching in the West, and Arianespace hopes to corner between 20 and 30 per cent of the market, or between 60 and 70 satellites to be launched by Ariane over a period of seven years.

That would make Ariane a serious competitor indeed for the American Space Shuttle.

It is hard to say as yet whether the second Ariane flop on 10 September has seriously shaken confidence in the rocket.

## Huge Investment

The project will be delayed but definitely neither called into question nor abandoned. Too much cash and other commitments have been invested in Ariane for the rocket to be shelved.

European manufacturers in general and French aerospace companies in particular are heavily committed to the project.

Besides, despite the Space Shuttle's advantage of being reusable there is still a demand for the old-style no deposit, no return technology.

This is a share of the market in which Europe at present is very much on its own.

Wolfgang Brauer  
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 September 1982)

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(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 22 September 1982)



Energy, especially solar energy, was a burning issue at the 112th annual gathering of a scientific society in Mannheim.

The energy the sun releases into space is immeasurable, the Association of German Naturalists and Doctors was told, and only a fraction reaches the surface of the Earth.

If we could only harness solar power our future energy problems would be no trouble, Professor Günther Lehnert of Stuttgart told the conference.

There had been no lack of attempts in recent years, but initial optimism had long been dispelled.

We must not be misled by the illusion that solar power might, in the short term, prove a simple and inexpensive solution to the world's energy problems.

Energy supplies were dealt with in detail at Mannheim. Coal, oil and natural gas cannot last for ever, although no-one can say how long it will be before reserves are exhausted.

It may be another 50, 100 or 200 years, but since economic development relies on adequate energy supplies, precautions must already be taken.

It is high time we began looking for new ways of meeting energy requirements and exploiting fresh sources of high-grade energy.

There were three options, said Professor Werner Martienssen of Frankfurt: nuclear fusion, conversion of solar energy and nuclear fusion.

The state of developments in each of these varied widely. "You can buy a light-water reactor on the open market," he said. Reactor safety was what currently preoccupied engineers and the general public.

In a lecture on the uses of atomic energy in the light of the latest technical

## THE ENVIRONMENT

### The sun: not all that shines is energy

developments Professor Wolfgang Klose of Karlsruhe referred to anxiety and fears still felt by many members of the general public.

But the subject was so complicated, he said, that people were unable to reach judgments of their own.

"No-one really appreciates that the combined experience of all commercial reactors run around the world amounts to over 2,000 years of accident-free operation."

US and German surveys on reactor safety provided a scientific assessment, he said, but because they relied on the law of probability they did little to end uncertainty.

Experts owed their detailed knowledge to large-scale experiments designed mainly to demonstrate technical processes. The public must be allowed to follow their progress too.

"You need to develop a feeling for nuclear technology and the only way to do so is via a demonstration of the processes about which the greatest anxiety is felt."

Latest risk research findings showed that current safety precautions were much more comprehensive than they were felt to be, say, five years ago.

But all possible scientific and technological efforts must continue to be undertaken to ensure that nuclear power stations could be run without endangering the general public.

## AGRICULTURE

### Adjust, market gardeners are warned

Stiddeutsche Zeitung

Market gardening, delegates to the 21st international horticultural congress in Hamburg were told, must take environmental and energy considerations more seriously.

Congress spokesman Werner Rottburg and Swedish economist Magnus Carlsson reviewed findings at the five days of deliberations by experts from 77 countries.

The experts had agreed, they said, that market gardeners would have to be more cautious and economic in the use of the means of plant production.

"These were the soil, water, air, energy, and as Mr Carlsson noted, environmental and health food requirements called for fewer chemicals to be used."

This was something consumers of food wanted. They were more health conscious and called for a return to horticultural traditions.

Pesticides and other chemicals could not, of course, be dispensed entirely.

Energy costs in market gardening more than trebled since 1973, was an "enormous burden" on growers, plants and vegetables under glass.

New energy- and labour-saving greenhouses needed developing, energy-saving varieties ought to be phased in breeding.

A variety of greenhouse tomatoes has been developed that ripened with less energy than was needed in conventional strains.

Genetic engineering was given attention at the conference, Herr thenburg said, the main aim being to breed tougher plants and, say, trees were less susceptible to toxins.

The importance of herbs was stressed, with reference to attempts in Brazil to breed the gentian, a listed plant the bitters of which are highly valued for their medicinal effect.

Konrad Müller-Christiansen  
(Mannheimer Morgen, 21 September 1982)

(Stiddeutsche Zeitung, 14 September 1982)

## THE CINEMA

### Fassbinder's last act: in tune with Genet

Fassbinder's 41st and final film can be compared with the last part of the serialised version of *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, Alfred Döblin's 1920s novel of a Berlin workman.

Based on Jean Genet's *Querelle*, written in a French jail in 1929, there can be no doubt Fassbinder feels very much attuned to Genet.

It seems fairly certain that the film, which is now Fassbinder's will and testament, is a radical reflection of his vision of life and love, and sexuality, art and death.

He leaves us in no doubt that he sees the life that takes shape in and around Querelle as real life. It is a life between heaven and hell, a hell-fire of friendship and betrayal, tenderness and brutality, egotism and self-abandonment, greatness and baseness, pain and beauty.

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Extroverted emotions and sailors' bodies... 'Querelle de Brest.' (Photo: Scotia)

### The tale of a migrant family that is here to stay

Angelo, a 10-year-old Italian boy who lives in Fürth, Bavaria, is basically satisfied with his lot. He goes to a German school, has plenty of friends, and wants to be a teacher.

But there is one problem, words like "Kannake, Ausländer, questi," he explains: "Wops, foreigners, words like that."

He is absolutely right. *Ausländer*, or 'foreigner', is a word that has decidedly alarming negative undertones in Germany today.

Angelo is one of eight children in the Villano family we meet in Hans Andreas Guttner's documentary film *Familie Villano kehrt nicht zurück* (The Villano Family are not Going Back).

Guttner's aim is to give the lie to a widespread feeling held by many Germans that forms the basis of government policy.

It is that the Federal Republic of Germany is not a country for immigrants.

The fact is, though, that many migrant workers and their families have decided to stay in Germany.

The Villanos in Fürth, for instance, come from near Naples and live in a much too small three-room apartment. It is dark and badly in need of repair. But it looks like they are here to stay.

The film explains how they arrived at their decision. It shows what problems they have to cope with and what it means to live for good among Germans as a foreigner, living, working, learning and growing up. It contains a wealth of observations circumspectly and patiently made, without over-insistent queries that force the family to make unnecessary admissions and without pointing an accusing, didactic finger. It is left to the viewer to put two and two together.

Angelo and his mother and father, (Photo: Vereinigung der Filmemacher)

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Angelo and his mother and father, (Photo: Vereinigung der Filmemacher)

Karsten Visarius

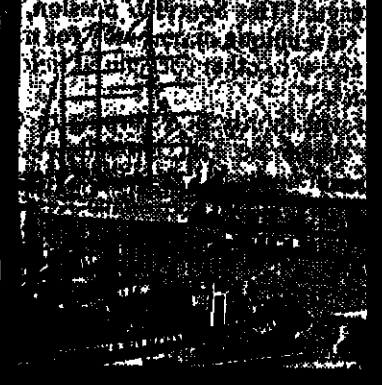
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 September 1982)

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## ■ PROFILE

## The monarchy in the hierarchy of a patriarchy or a matriarchy

At school Heide Göttner-Abendroth preferred reading Schopenhauer and Nietzsche to learning vocabulary. As a student of philosophy and literature she was irritated by "theoretical mumbo-jumbo" and wanted to "reduce theories to their quintessence."

She was interested in almost everything and spent her first five semesters at university studying a wide range of subjects until she discovered the work of Robert Graves and Johann Jacob Bachofen on matriarchy.

She was 20 and fascinated. "It was a mystery to me," she says, "that such interesting material could gather dust in libraries and no-one taught it at university."

So she decided she would have to grasp the initiative. That was over 20 years ago. Heide Göttner-Abendroth, 41, lives in Munich, has three children and teaches philosophy and aesthetics at Munich University.

She deals with matriarchy in her university lectures but has only recently got round to doing so. "In the past," she explains, "I wouldn't have dared to raise such ideas in public."

"I was afraid of being a laughing stock. Matriarchy was felt in academic circles not to be a serious subject."

Working alongside other feminists gave her the courage to come out with her provocative theories on primitive

societies in which the female sex played the dominant role.

Her fellow-researchers were women sociologists, philosophers and political scientists dealing each in her own way with the situation of women in history and society.

Her first book, *Die Göttin und ihr Heros* (The Goddess and Her Hero), was published in 1980. It deals with matriarchal religion in the Indo-European area.

"I was totally surprised at the response," she says. "Suddenly I was getting one invitation after another from universities and other educational facilities."

"They all wanted to discuss my work with me, work that fellow-lecturers had long regarded as what they called my private mythology."

Public interest in matriarchy is substantial, but so is prejudice and dislike of the subject, she says after attending any number of debates on it.

The first prejudice was that matriarchy is the mirror-image of patriarchy, with women lordling it over men rather than the other way round.

"That is a completely mistaken notion," she says. "Women had no need of forms of domination such as occurred in patriarchy. There was no such thing as power as it is now understood."

"Matriarchies were family societies in which several families combined to

form a tribe. They saw themselves as extended families in which the oldest women enjoyed the greatest authority.

"It was a natural authority based on generations. They were practically the grandmothers of the rest and had a wide range of experience and knowledge on the strength of which they deserved and enjoyed greater respect."

This was how Bachofen and other male researchers into matriarchy whose work is referred to by Frau Göttner-Abendroth described matriarchal societies.

Yet they regarded matriarchy as a long period of slavery for the male sex and viewed the end of this humiliation and the beginning of patriarchy as the liberation of the poor oppressed man.

"There can be no question of men being oppressed," she says. She has been happily married to Hermann Abendroth, an engineer, for 16 years.

"When women predominate that doesn't necessarily mean that men are oppressed. Matriarchal societies had a deep, respectful appreciation of natural life cycles."

"They allowed all living beings the room they needed in which to develop, and that naturally included men. Men were also included in decision-making."

"From individual instances it is a known fact that lengthy discussions were held between men and women before a decision was reached by the oldest woman of the tribe."

So much for the widespread prejudice that in matriarchal societies women were argumentative women's libbers and their husbands did as they were told around the house.

Frau Göttner-Abendroth also regularly comes across another prejudice, the idea that only primitive societies of hunters and gatherers had matriarchies.

"No indeed," she says. "Matriarchies went in for highly sophisticated forms of horticulture and crop-growing. The first forms of housing were also developed by women."

"There was a division of labour between women and men, with the men doing work that was not so closely connected with life processes and probably called for greater physical strength."

"They did the clearance work in new fields and ploughed them for the first time. But the sowing was always done by women."

"Women dealt with everything that was connected with life, growth and fertility."

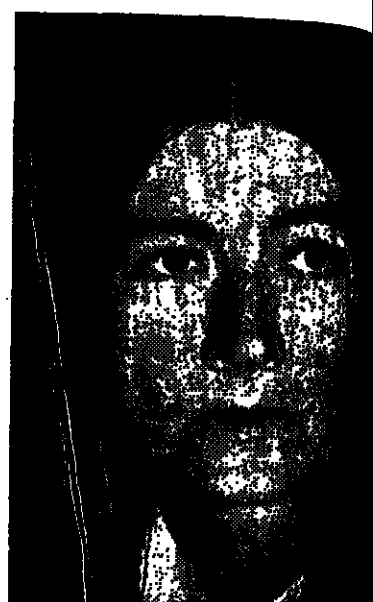
She paints a colourful picture of societies that are seldom mentioned in history books, so seldom that they might never have existed.

This often turns out in public debate to be the main problem. She is asked whether matriarchal societies really existed and if they did, how can they be proved to have done so.

"It depends what you mean by proof," she says. "History can only ever be investigated by means of source material. It can never be proved."

"That is all I do: study source material for historical research. There is a tremendous amount of material on matriarchies that had been simply ignored by official history writing."

"That is the material I use." It in-



Heide Göttner-Abendroth... by theoretical mumbo-jumbo.

(Photo: Thales)

ludes archaeology, ethnology, and history, cultural history, folkloristics and sociology.

She works her way through her own and puts together, as in a mosaic, all the references to matriarchy that come across in the various fields of search.

She says the matriarchal era lasted 4,000 years until, about 3,000 years ago, patriarchies emerged. How, she asks, were patriarchies brought about?

"That is one of the toughest questions," she says, "and much research is done within two to four work has been done on it. The answer is that it is so difficult to find the first operation of this kind was performed a single, comprehensive explanation. There isn't one."

"Patriarchies evolved over a long period, partly due to tension within the patriarchal tribes but largely as a result of conquest and intruders."

"It is only 200 years since the last matriarchies were subjugated in North America. There is certainly no political history at which matriarchies can be said to have been brought to an end."

She is well aware that matriarchies are archaic forms she has understood. She cannot simply be repeated. "We must carefully study the history of matriarchies and see what features of them we can use today and what we cannot learn from them."

The matriarchal woman as she is her is worth emulating mainly for her versatility. "She was never just a housewife and mother, as we are today, just an artist or a head of state."

"Matriarchal societies did not have such forms of specialisation in which all other inclinations were suppressed. Matriarchal woman embodies everything."

"She was a fighter and courageous, yet at the same time a gentle mother and a considerate educator. She was a creative artist, a reasoned thinker and a wise teacher of her tribe. All the qualities overflowed into each other."

Intensive concern with matriarchy woman has changed Heide Göttner-Abendroth's life. She has gained only in self-assurance but also in openness in the musical and creative department.

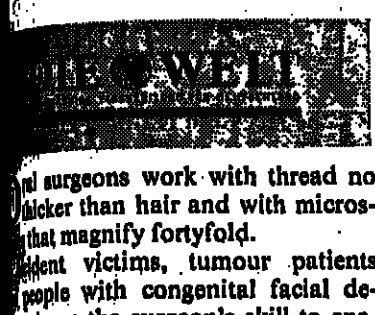
She now follows a wide range of interests she had as a girl and had thought were dead: singing, dancing, writing poems and doing handicrafts.

And she says without a moment's hesitation: "In my family I definitely play the leading role."

Waltraud Borgschulte (Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 September 1982)

## MEDICINE

## Doctors refine techniques of face-wound surgery



Heide Göttner-Abendroth... by theoretical mumbo-jumbo.

(Photo: Thales)

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His wounds had since healed and the scars were practically invisible.

It is most important for patients to have their nerves reconnected by microsurgery. Otherwise they will be unable to feel or control the movement of the parts sewn back on.

In cases of severe injury or when facial tumours are removed, nerves can be transplanted.

A nerve from the leg or the neck will replace the facial nerve, which is like a telephone cable in consisting of an outer shell and several thinner inner channels.

The substance that relays information and commands then gradually reconsti-

tutes itself in the nerve channels. In the face it can be six months to a year before movements can be coordinated again.

But this process only works in peripheral nerves. If the spinal cord is severed the patient is a paraplegic and irreparably paralysed.

The latest operation techniques can be used to help patients with malignant tumours in an advanced state in the face or throat. Surgeons used to have to give them up because they could no longer help.

Nowadays the prospects are much better. Professor Reuther, chief surgeon at Würzburg University Hospital, has devised a new technique he has successfully used on 30 patients over the past three years.

After tumour surgery he replaces the lower jawbone with metal and plastic and fashions a new mouth, tongue and cheeks out of lower intestinal tissue.

The patients can then breathe and eat normally again. Gisela Schütte (Die Welt, 16 September 1982)

## Deafness often mistaken for a mental handicap

Poor hearing is often dismissed as a minor problem, if it is identified. Often it is diagnosed as something else.

Children who are hard of hearing are classified as late developers or said to be suffering from a defect that will right itself in time.

Adults who are hard of hearing are often treated for nervous trouble or dismissed as mentally retarded because their powers of speech are limited.

There are about 5.7 million people in the Federal Republic of Germany (population 60 million) with hearing troubles.

Fifty per cent of over-40s have difficulty in hearing, while 150,000 children have poor hearing and, as a result, speech defects, says the Green Cross, a health association.

In mid-September a countrywide campaign, the fourth, publicised the plight of the deaf and hard of hearing. Its patron was Karl Carstens, the Bonn President.

As part of the campaign everyone was entitled to a free hearing check. Health recitations were a matter of humanity, said Health Minister Anke Fuchs in Cologne.

Marion Sichelschmidt (Rheinische Post, 11 September 1982)

## Music therapy as a cure for neuroses

The exact designation and terms of reference have yet to be finalised.

The experiment is backed by the Rehabilitation Foundation, Heidelberg, the Bonn Education and Science Ministry and the Land of Baden-Württemberg.

Bonn's share of the cost will be about DM350,000 this year. Graduates are expected to work in teams and under medical supervision where psychotherapy is involved.

They needn't be perfectly trained musicians. Violin virtuosos and masters of the keyboard are not essential in a bid to gain access to a sick mind.

Musical sensitivity and creativity are needed, however. There is a lengthy en-

trance exam as part of which would-be students must continue a melody of which a few bars have been played and end a story of which only the beginning has been told.

But a surprising number of music graduates are keen to study music therapy too, which certainly shows there are musicians interested in therapy.

The aim of the programme is to improve psychotherapeutic facilities, says Eckart Kuhlwein, state secretary at the Bonn Education Ministry.

There is not only a shortage of facilities but also of trained staff to help the handicapped, mentally ill and people in need of assistance.

Music therapy will be a four-year course, covering psychology, medicine, music and music therapy. Mozart, Mahler and Beethoven would surely be surprised to learn that their work is now being used in this way.

Franka Berger (Spitzgarter Nachrichten, 18 September 1982)

## Big drop in baby checkups blamed on insurance cuts

Health insurance cutbacks are being blamed for a sharp reduction in the number of babies given regular checkups.

Until last year, almost all babies were checked regularly to see if they were developing normally. This year, the figures has dropped to about 30 per cent.

Dr Erich Koschade told a Press conference in Munich that after a normal delivery, women could now only stay in hospital for six days. Then they were either discharged or became private patients. It used to be 10 days.

Sometimes checkups were not made within those six days, possibly because a weekend was included.

And when checks are made in hospital, they are no longer covered by standard health insurance schemes.

German health insurance schemes were tightened up financially at the end of last year.

The press conference was held in connection with an international gynaecological congress hosted by Karl-Heinz Wulf of Würzburg, president of the German Gynaecological Association.

Professor Wulf called for a more level-headed look at alternative or gentle childbirth, a concept often viewed through ideological blinkers.

The atmosphere in the womb could not be maintained after birth, he said. If it could, the baby might enter the world fast asleep.

Having babies at home was increasingly popular, but home deliveries were a problem in many cases.

At present they accounted for less than one per cent of the total, but oddly enough, so he felt, more babies were now born at home, relatively speaking, in cities than in rural areas where hospital facilities might be less readily available.

As a rule home deliveries were unintentional. Many pregnant women were overconfident they would make it to hospital in time regardless of traffic jams.

So they left it too late before setting out and before they knew where they were they were in labour.

Gynaecologists are sceptical about outpatient births offered at some clinics.

Once labour pains have started the mother comes to the clinic with her midwife and can be discharged as soon as six hours later.

But tests have shown that outpatient deliveries resulted in more cases of jaundice being identified too late among babies and breast infections among mothers going unnoticed.

Professor Wulf said it was not true that separation from its mother, as was inevitable in cases of Caesarean section, was necessarily a traumatic experience for the baby.

It was not marked for life. The close relationship with its mother could without difficulty be re-established. In principle he was strongly in favour of further development of programmed childbirth in which labour is induced when the time is right and the biological risk is lowest.

In view of growing difficulties in connection with Sunday and shift working, this option ought no longer to be neglected, he felt.

Karl Stankiewicz (Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 18 September 1982)



## CRIME

## Children who stay in jail with their mothers



Serious problems are created for children when their mothers go to prison.

What are the mothers to do? Take the children behind bars with them?

The answer is that they now can. A mother-and-child block was set up at Schwäbisch Gmünd prison two years ago and now houses six mothers, each with one child.

The oldest child is three. The mothers work at ordinary prison jobs during the day, sewing mailbags and the like, while social workers mind the children.

Christian is a smart little boy aged 13 months. As his mother holds his hands and gives him words of encouragement he unsteadily learns how to walk.

It is a scene that could be part of any childhood, or any motherhood for that matter. It seems strange to see it behind bars.

His mother, Elvira Schwegler, 26, is serving a two-year sentence for fraud. She kept ordering goods from mail order companies and "forgetting" to pay the bills until she was taken to court and sentenced.

It seems a tough sentence, but she admits to having spent a previous year in jail for shoplifting.

When she was released she got to know a man, an alcoholic. He soon disappeared, leaving her pregnant. So she ordered layettes and the finest of

baby clothes on credit from one mail order firm after another.

The companies took her to court and she gave birth to a boy just after she was sentenced. She took him with her to jail, where they share a large, bright and airy room that looks more like an old-fashioned hospital room than a prison cell.

Another mother in the block is Sieglinde Kraeft, 29, a kleptomaniac. She toured the department stores, was invariably caught and readily admits:

"I just can't leave things alone. Department stores attract me like magic. I'm a really pathological case."

Her husband has divorced her and her 23-year-old boyfriend and father of Michel, 3, is in the Bundeswehr. Michel and Christian are playmates.

Peter Peters, the prison governor, is responsible for the rooming-in experiment. "The aim," he says, "is to enable mothers to learn social behaviour so they can cope with life better on release."

"They can also help to prevent difficulties arising in their relationship with their children."

How do the mothers themselves feel? "Before I had Christian," says Frau Schwegler, "I felt hopeless, despairing, depressed. I even considered suicide."

"But now those days are over, and Christian lacks nothing. He is fed well and cared for, and he is with his mother. There are bound to be children outside who aren't that lucky."

Sieglinde Kraeft is overjoyed too: "I have a child, my Michel. For the first

time I know I have something worth looking after.

"If I were outside I wouldn't know how to set about it. I never learnt a trade. But here everything is in order."

Before a child is admitted to the mother and child block at Schwäbisch Gmünd jail a report has to be submitted by the local authority youth department confirming that financial arrangements are settled.

The youth department must also certify that the child cannot be looked after by another member of the family. Medical certificates are likewise required.

The cost of running the block and looking after mothers and children is met by the prisons department.

If the children need special maternal care that can be arranged. On application, mothers can be released from work by the hour to look after them.

"During their stay in the block," the guidelines state, "social workers look after mother and child. Mothers care for their children under such supervision as may be necessary."

Children with organic upsets are not admitted. Rooming-in is ruled out for mothers who, to quote the regulations, "prior to imprisonment seriously endangered the well-being of their child and cannot be expected to develop a positive mother-child relationship under therapeutic supervision."

In exceptional cases decisions are to be reached by the governor after consulting the officials responsible.

Red tape apart, the prison is looking forward to a new inmate of the mother and child block. She is a woman already serving time in the main block and due to give birth later this month.

Detlev Claus Scholz

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 September 1982)

## Some prefer to remain on the inside looking out



problems arising from the offence that got them into trouble with the law.

Very few women can return to a reasonably stable background. Most have to start from scratch, with no ties whatever.

Over the three-year pilot project period about 350 women were looked after before and after leaving jail, 156 intensively and 52 for over a year.

Two out of three needed advice on individual problems over and above practical assistance.

Surprisingly often they refused to look reality in the face, had illusions about their prospects and lacked the ability to plan rationally.

Many had to be protected from trying to solve or escape from problems by resorting to alcohol, drugs or one man after another.

Financial difficulties were almost always a further problem. A mere three out of 52 women questioned said they had no debts to clear.

While they are in jail many women find old loans that have to be repaid, maintenance claims, lawyers' and court

fees, damages, customs duties (in narcotics offences) and accumulated interest just become too much for them.

The advice bureau may not be able to help with cash, but it can help to sort out the debts.

This service has been costing the bureau DM50,000 a year, which the Frankfurt labour exchange chipped in until mid-1982. But not any longer. So now the financial backing of the entire facility may come unstuck.

A lawyer who works for the bureau says the Frankfurt social affairs department has not only objected to contributing toward debt settlement but also called the city's entire share of the costs into question.

Total costs are about DM300,000 a year. The simplest of financial equations is enough to show that closing it down would be economic nonsense.

Five per cent of women assisted have since been jailed again, or 20 per cent in the case of drug addicts. The figures for female ex-convicts in general are 40 and 60 per cent respectively.

It costs taxpayers DM80 a day to support someone in jail, so the bureau is clearly an economic proposition.

Cerd Rauhaus

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 11 September 1982)

## Prisons fill up as recession takes effect

### STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

The recession is filling German prisons. They are overflowing because people cannot pay fines and have to go to prison instead.

The Justice Ministers of the Länder are not happy. It is not just the overcrowding, but the cost to the taxpayer.

The state not only forfeits the fine, but the offender is unable to pay (and the longer has to because he has gone to jail instead); it also has to pay for upkeep.

The 70s reform of the criminal law aimed at reducing the number of prisoners sentenced for minor offences. Few were to be imposed instead.

In eight cases out of 10, petty thieves, tricksters and drunken drivers are given fines that are only converted to prison terms if they are unable to pay.

In North Rhine-Westphalia 83.9 per cent of last year's 171,736 sentences were fines. In Hamburg it was 94.0 out of 18,648, in the Saar 7,522 out of 12,540.

In Bavaria 81.8 per cent of 104,000 sentences were fines, in Lower Saxony 80 per cent. And so on.

Since last spring, a straw poll reveals the recession has made its mark. Now before have so many people reported at it out behind bars instead of paying up.

In Lower Saxony 149 convicts in category served time in the first half of 1981. In the first six months of this year their number was up to 315, an increase of over 100 per cent.

In Hamburg it was the same. On 18 August 106 men and women were sitting out because they were unable to pay fines, which was twice as many as last year.

In North Rhine-Westphalia, which has 17,039 convicts in 34 overcrowded prisons, 628 convicts came in this category. In April 1981 there were only 400.

In Bavaria their number has increased from 243 to 330 within a year and the trend is 'apparent' all over the country.

Heinz, a 36-year-old teacher from Ruhr, is one of them. He explains his situation on the telephone from Bielefeld jail, where he has been serving his sentence since April.

He prefers not to reveal his surname or the offence that put him behind bars, but says he got into trouble with his car before his final exam, was sacked, unable to pay the fine, DM1,800.

So he and others like him are paying the taxpayer money: the fine he pays plus the cost of keeping him in prison, which is DM99.26 a day in North Rhine-Westphalia.

The Justice Ministries in four Länder, Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein, have hit on an idea they hope will relieve the burden.

People unable to pay are now offered a last-minute option of social work, instead of going to jail. They can work in children's homes, people's homes, hospitals and other social service facilities.

By the end of July 200 had taken

Continued on page 15

## MODERN LIVING

## Boys still have the best of it at school, researchers claim

How much a man's (well, a boy's) school, according to two surveys.

are paid much less attention in class, educationalists conclude from surveys in Reutlingen, near Stuttgart.

When asked questions, or allowed to answer them, more often than girls are praised almost twice as often.

They may also be fobbed off more often with the answer "No, that's not the point." On this point the findings of the surveys differ.

The surveys were by Heidi Frisch and Helga C. Wagner of Reutlingen training college. Professor Frisch is in charge of a project on teaching strategies backed by the Science Research Association.

Both decided to concentrate on the fourth year at school, when German boys are about 10. It is their final year at primary school and in many respects decides their future schooling.

The first survey probed 12, the second 35 fourth-year classes at schools in Reutlingen and its environs. The larger survey involved 1,082 children, with boys and girls in roughly equal number, and 35 teachers (17 women and 18 men).

In each class three lessons (maths, German and civics) were monitored by observers who were not told what the objectives of the survey were.

On average, their combined statistics show, a girl has to put her hand up five times before she is allowed to ask or answer a question, whereas a boy only has to put his hand up four times.

What is more, boys are singled out for attention more often than girls when they have not raised their hands too.

The teaching strategies programme, which is still in progress, gives some idea of what this can mean for girls and boys.

In class they invariably wonder whether or not they are going to be asked to make a personal contribution to the lesson.

When they raise their hands they really want to be asked to say their piece. They are often most disappointed at not being asked, especially when they feel they have something important to say.

The Reutlingen findings also show that very little praise is given in class although educationalists constantly point out how important a word of praise can be.

Boys have to wait on average six lessons before they are given a word of praise. Girls have to wait 10 lessons before they receive this encouragement.

This disadvantage from which the girls suffer, Professor Wagner says, is not only due to them being asked questions less frequently than boys.

Even when girls are given an opportunity to say or show something in class they are praised definitely less often than boys by the teacher for their contribution to the lesson.

There is a widespread feeling among teachers that boys are more difficult in class. True enough, they were called to order more often than the girls, much more often.

The Reutlingen surveys agree with US findings that boys disturb lessons more often than girls, thereby giving more cause to be told to pay attention or to keep quiet.

But the Reutlingen educationalists say the frequency is also attributable to the fact that teachers generally pay more attention to boys than to girls.

When teachers of either sex are asked which pupils are particularly noteworthy (in both a positive and a negative sense) they will, as a rule, name boys only.

Teachers of both sexes directly approach schoolboys, in group work or on the periphery of lessons, nearly twice as often as they approach schoolgirls.

must one and for all establish a right to the traditional woman's work as still often favoured by family friends.

His issues ought also to be in lessons and women's projects when up at school.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 14 September 1982)



It might be argued that girls offset this by besieging their teachers and bombarding them with questions, i.e. clamouring for attention.

This idea is widespread both in scientific literature and among the general public, but the Reutlingen findings contradict it.

Boys are more given to approaching the teacher on their own, and the distinction is particularly wide in German, which is traditionally viewed as a subject in which girls are more interested.

Yet many more boys than girls were found to consult the teacher even though German is the subject in which they are least neglected when they try to gain attention.

They are nonetheless not called on to answer questions more often than the boys when they put their hands up and try to catch the teachers' eye.

Girls were most strikingly neglected in civics, and male and female teachers were alike in giving the boys preferential treatment.

All told, male teachers tended more strongly to favour boys, but female teachers more frequently levelled questions at boys who had not raised their hands.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 September 1982)

## Legal action not solution to baby bashing, says minister

Law enforcement is not the solution to baby battering, says the Bonn Youth, Family Affairs and Health Ministry.

Frau Anke Fuchs, the Minister, says the aim of getting to grips with the issue should be to enable children to return home without fear of getting bashed again.

The official policy now is not to level accusations at the guilty parent and not to threaten drastic punishment.

New approaches to the problem are outlined in a pamphlet issued by the Ministry.

In it, Frau Fuchs said that in 1981, 1,500 cases of cruelty to children were reported to the police. There were also more than 80 cases of suicide by children.

The figures are getting worse and are felt to be the tip of the iceberg. An estimated 10 per cent of all injuries to children are thought to be because of maltreatment.

So Bonn has decided to adopt a different approach and go back to square one: confinement at the maternity clinic. It is there that the first help can be given.

"Birth at the clinic and the period immediately before and after birth," the brochure says, "present an opportunity of gaining an early warning of possible strains in the parent-child relationship."

"Much closer cooperation between maternity clinics and social services after-care is urgently needed."

Points to note at birth are what the mother looks like, what she says and does and whether there are signs that the parents are sad, disappointed, annoyed or ambivalent in their response to the baby.

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the offer of working off a day's jail or the equivalent by doing six hours' work.

But other Länder have reservations. Inge Donnepp, SPD Justice Minister in North Rhine-Westphalia, says pilot projects in city-states are not necessarily suitable in her state's case.

Hesse might give a better idea, but findings were not yet available.

Walter Remmers, CDU Justice Minister in Lower Saxony, is unhappy too. He would prefer not to consider what might be felt to amount to forced labour merely because someone was unable to pay a fine.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 3 September 1982)

ject in which girls are more interested. Yet many more boys than girls were found to consult the teacher even though German is the subject in which they are least neglected when they try to gain attention.

They are nonetheless not called on to answer questions more often than the boys when they put their hands up and try to catch the teachers' eye.

Girls were most strikingly neglected in civics, and male and female teachers were alike in giving the boys preferential treatment.

All told, male teachers tended more strongly to favour boys, but female teachers more frequently levelled questions at boys who had not raised their hands.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 September 1982)

Those who doubt whether this method is very effective are told that it has proved most satisfactory in the United States, where there are labour ward checklists.

Observation of how women breast-feed their babies in the first few days after birth has been found to reveal families where the baby may have a rough time and to provide an opportunity of providing welfare after-care.

The Ministry is backing experimental projects in Berlin and Gütersloh that are aimed at solving conflicts. Both have in their care children that have been taken from their parents because of mistreatment or neglect.

But in addition to caring for the children, social workers also maintain close ties with the parents and offer help and advice.

Children born with congenital defects are particularly liable to maltreatment. So are children who have spent time in local authority care.

Children are found time and again to be maltreated because they suffer from imperceptible defects of the central nervous system that make them seem restless and develop in a manner inappropriate to their age.

The brochure is particularly critical of the confusion of responsibility for dealing with cases of baby battering.

In each case up to three dozen officials of various agencies and departments were called in yet there could hardly be any question of real help being given.

"Much of the official and private assistance lent nowadays in preventing cruelty to children tends either to exercise control or is entirely ineffectual."

The Deutscher Kinderschutzbund, or Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, with its head office in Hannover, does not feel its work is meant.

Its business manager, Walter Wilken, coordinates the activities of 30,000 members in 280 local groups. He has one point he would particularly like to make:

"If we were to retain the culprit-orientated approach to cruelty to children and were to bring all offenders to book, why must parents would be serving prison sentences right now."

Eberhard Nitschke  
(Die Welt, 15 September 1982)